1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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614 get some. With the taro he received from the women, he
774 was on his way back to the men on the beach, when he
773 came upon a group of *gas*, whom he mistook for men from Penguli; his own *gas* was among them. They said, "Who are you?" and he replied "Muk," and then they showed him his *gas*, also named Muk. They told him to catch a very large fish named *Un*. This he did, but the fish was too heavy for him to lift. His *gas*, however, lifted it without any effort.[1] Muk wanted to go now and find his companions, but the *gas* would not allow him to return, and took him, unwillingly, with them to the bush.

In the meantime all the men were waiting for Muk to come with the taro; finally, they had to eat the fish without it. When they returned to Penguli, they asked the women what had happened to Muk, and they could only tell how they saw Muk start off with the taro to join the men. They assumed that Muk was dead; his wife and clan relatives wailed, and preparations were begun for the mortuary rites.

However, the next day Muk returned to Penguli and related all that had happened to him, how he was not killed by the *gas* because his own *gas* protected him and did not permit the others to kill him. Muk recounted how, when the *gas* ate, the food did not stay long in their stomachs, and how immediately after eating they defaecated. The *gas*, including his own, overheard Muk telling this tale; they were cross and immediately strangled and killed him. The *gas* were never seen again. The mortuary feast was made for Muk.

614 The clan and moiety are much more than mere totemic
616 divisions of the society, for they are also very active function-
582 ing units. Since the moieties are exogamous, they set the structure for sex life. Members of the Hawk moiety must

[1] Many other tales stress the strength of the *gas*, which can break a man in two as if he were a small branch of a tree, or lift up a house and carry it away, etc.

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pick their mates from the Eagle moiety and *vice versa*. Transgressing this rule, either in or out of marriage, is the worse crime of Lesu society. Between the moieties there is a set of reciprocal duties, including an exchange of food at pregnancy, birth, circumcision, first menstruation, marriage, and death rites. As the members of a moiety are scattered through households, hamlets, and villages, they generally function as a unit only at these rites. The clan, on the other hand, functions frequently as an economic unit, the members assisting each other in all their important undertakings. Since it is the important old men of the clan who are the real governing force, the clan largely conditions the political structure. These men are called *orang*, which may be translated as old men of influence, rather than chief. It is they who are an informal council, meeting in the men's house and discussing and deciding any questions of importance. Young and middle-aged men listen to them with respectful attention. The position of *orang* in the clan is not inherited. At the death of one, it may fall on his brother, but there is no rule for the choice. The oldest and most influential man of the clan, regardless of his exact relationship to the dead man, will be regarded as an *orang*. His influence is based on his age, strength of his personality, and his wealth. Oratorical ability and magical knowledge also increase his prestige. The *orang* is not formally chosen by an election. In these small and primitive communities everyone knows who is the most influential man, and he maintains his position by mutual consent.

In the past, each village had a warrior chief, also called *orang*, who was distinct from the clan *orang*. He had to know war magic and was always a rich man. The position was inherited, but not in a very exact line. His brother, his brother's son, his sister's son, and his own son have all at various times inherited a dead warrior chief's position. The ability of the man and the personal preference of the old

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601 24. *-nataina:* reciprocal term for 22, when a female is being addressed.

25. *Ingatsung:* mother's brother's spouse;

(*a*) male speaking, husband's father's brother's wife;

(*b*) female speaking, husband's sister's son; husband's sister's daughter; husband's father's brother's daughter's son; husband's father's brother's daughter's daughter; husband's mother's brother's son's wife.

The term is reciprocal.

26. *-tamuth:* (*a*) male speaking (*lowanga* sometimes used instead of *tamuth*); mother's brother's daughter's son's wife; mother's brother's daughter's daughter's husband; father's sister's daughter's daughter's husband; wife's sister's husband; wife's mother's sister's daughter's husband; father's sister's husband;

(*b*) female speaking, husband's brother's wife; husband's father's sister; husband's father's brother's son's wife; husband's mother's sister's son's wife.

The term is reciprocal.

We can now discuss certain fundamental principles underlying the system and the more important behaviour patterns accompanying the kinship terms.

582 The preferred marriage for a man is with the daughter of his cross-cousin, i.e. with his mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or his father's sister's daughter's daughter (see terms 11, 12). The man would thus always be in the generation above his wife. Whether this marriage takes place or not, the terms for husband and wife are used between a man and his cross-cousin's daughter, and he calls his cross-cousin's daughter's children by the same terms as he calls his own. If the preferred marriage always occurred, intermarriage between the same clans would then happen, resulting in a possible class system. But the preferred marriage does not always occur. Very many times marriages, other than the preferred one, are made. The following analysis of 353 marriages indicate how far there is any

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evidence for a system of interclan marriage. Numbers are used to indicate clans of the Eagle moiety. 582

INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN CLANS[1]

Eagle Clans.	Number of Marriages Recorded.	Number of Clans of Opposite Moiety into which Marriages were made.	Highest Number and Per Cent. of Marriages into any one Clan.	
			Number.	Per Cent.
1	40	12	7	0.17
2	95	14	31	0.32
3	16	9	7	0.41
4	64	12	20	0.31
5	50	10	22	0.44
6	46	14	10	0.21
7	42	12	15	0.35

From the above table it can be seen that one clan never makes even fifty per cent of its marriages into any one given clan of the opposite moiety, and that there cannot therefore be said to be any class system of interclan marriages. Percentages, however, such as forty-one and forty-four, would seem to indicate some tendency for certain clans to intermarry. But a number of incidental factors, such as neighbouring residence of the two clans, might account for the tendency.

It is quite customary for two brothers to marry two sisters, and it also happens fairly frequently that a man marries his brother's widow.

The prohibited marriages are: (1) between any two members of the same moiety; (2) between cross-cousins: the *korup* relationship, a man and his mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter; (3) between parent and child. The first prohibited marriage thus includes 582 835

[1] A more detailed table of interclan marriages giving fuller data is recorded in the Appendix II.

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582 835 brothers and sisters, real and classificatory, and the breaking of this taboo is the very worse crime of the society. The taboo applies just as strongly to sexual intercourse as to marriage. Breaking the sex taboo between cross-cousins and between parents and children, while considered a great social crime, is not quite so bad as breaking the brother-sister taboo. In the past the penalty for breaking any of [684] the incest taboos was death; the guilty individuals were killed by members of their own clan. No such breach occurred during my visit, and since killing is now forbidden by the Mandated Government, it is difficult to say what the punishment would be to-day. There are no tales of any incestuous marriages, but tales of incestuous intercourse with the punishment of the offenders are told. Since we know only about the few who have been caught, it is difficult to estimate even generally how frequently the taboo is broken. But it is quite evident that most of the natives have a horror of incest. Even a dream of it makes them thoroughly ashamed.

605 The *korup* relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex (see term 14) is the one surrounded with the most ritual prohibitions. Personal names must never be mentioned, and instead the term *korup* is used when one member of the relationship wishes to refer to the other. Between children the term the diminutive, *koko*, is used. The two *korup* relatives do not go near each other. If it would be absolutely necessary that they speak, it would be done briefly, at a distance of about twenty-five feet. Food is exchanged [431] between them, but always through the medium of a third person.

582 606 A man's preferred mate is this same *korup's* daughter, whom he calls by the term *-tumbo* (wife, see term 11), whether he marries her or not. If he marries another woman who does not stand in the relationship of a cross-cousin's daughter, her mother becomes *korup* to him. Thus mother-in-law is

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always a taboo relationship to a man. Whether this taboo relationship is fundamentally a cross-cousin or a mother-in-law one is at present a matter of conjecture.[1]

Between cross-cousins of the same sex (*ripunga* and *ripungaina*, see terms 18 and 19) there is friendliness, cordiality, and affection. The link connecting them is the very close and affectionate mother's brother or father's sister, and there is no possibility of sex conflict, because they are of the same sex.

A mutually helpful and affectionate relationship exists between parents and children. An infant or child is cared for by the older member, and in a similar way an old, feeble member is dependent upon the younger one of the relationship.

There is also a friendly helpful and fond relationship between brothers and between sisters. A brother and sister relationship is marked by friendliness and helpfulness, but at the same time there is a semi-avoidance to insure an absence of sexual relations. Sexual play between them before puberty is prohibited, and while there is a frequent exchange of gifts and services in adult life, there are no intimacies. Conversation is limited to a minimum.

The term mother is used for the mother's sister and father for the father's brother, and a person calls his mother's, sister's, and father's brother's children by the term brother and sister (see terms 1, 2, 3, 4). Should a native's own mother be dead, his mother's sister takes her place. Similarly, if an old woman's own children are dead, her sister's children will take care of her. If a native's mother and mother's sisters are all alive, some of his duties towards the latter will remain latent. But other duties, such as assistance in garden work, will be carried out.

For the mother's brother and father's sister new terms

[1] The native word for taboo when applied to objects (and not to people) is *korul*. So whether *korup* is a kinship term in the same sense that "mother" is, or whether it is simply a word for taboo, is also uncertain.

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852 was given for Sapirosch, a female infant of about a year, or a little more, and Linga, a little girl of about three years of age, both of the hamlet of Penguli. It was a joint feast for the two given by their respective parents, and had been postponed because Ladawin, who is a potential and the preferred mate for Sapirosch, has been absent at the distant village of Karu. Sapirosch is the daughter of Ladawin's cross-cousin, which makes her his preferred mate. Whether they marry or not, they call each other by the term for husband and wife, *tumbo* and *malis*. Upon his return to Lesu preparations for the feast, which will be held the next day, are begun. The men of the hamlet go fishing and prepare their catch, and the women bring in taro from their gardens and prepare it to be baked in the *liga*. The next day the feast is held. The men eat in the cemetery. All the Hawk men eat the food prepared by the Eagle women, and they are in some subtle way supposed to be eating with Sapirosch, who is Eagle. Similarly, the Eagle men eat the food prepared by the Hawk women, and are supposed to be eating with Linga, who is Hawk. The feast is not taken too seriously. It is called *oning tsnintset*, literally eat play, i.e. a playful feast. [831] The Hawk men say playfully to Sapirosch, "Why have you not prepared food for us, when you have already shown us your vulva?" The Eagle men say the same to Linga. [582] Theoretically, all the men of the opposite moiety are possible mates for the two little girls, and the feast is held for all of them, but it is particularly for those who stand in the relationship of the preferred mate.

While the men are eating in the cemetery, the women eat more casually on the beach. The Eagle women eat the food prepared by the Hawk women, and *vice versa*.[1]

854 It is not only through the performance of the proper rites 834 and by feeding and caring for the infant that the duties of

[1] I was told that a similar feast was held for the possible mates of a little boy, but none was held during my visit.

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but also to sincerely believe in it. This is one social pattern in which everyone seems to participate.

Kinship patterns of behaviour have always been supposed to be most rigid, but these, too, on close examination, reveal many variations, which appear to be based mainly on individual desires and temperamental differences. It happens but rarely that a man marries his mother's brother's daughter (the preferred marriage), but he does follow the pattern sufficiently to usually marry someone in the generation below him. But there are even exceptions to this. One man in Lesu married a woman in the generation above him—his mother's mother's brother's daughter, who is in the same generation as his mother. There are many reasons for the non-marriage of the cross-cousin's daughter. She may be married already; the parents of either her or the man may have arranged another betrothal very early in their infancy; or either the girl or the man may simply prefer another mate.

Again, there is the pattern of behaviour between a man and his sister which, among other things, does not permit a man to make sexual jokes about a woman in front of her brother. Yet, as has been described, the old man Towi is constantly doing just this, much to the disgust of others. Other natives, in talking about it, say that it is an unpleasant peculiarity of Towi's which they accept but cannot understand. He is a moderately important old man in his clan, but his love of what to the native would correspond to our obscenity detracts somewhat from his prestige. But he goes gaily on.

We know also from folk-tales and from stories about men who have lived recently that the incest taboo between members of the same moiety is occasionally broken. Individual desires thus sometimes break through the most rigid and the very strongest social pattern of behaviour, even though death is the penalty. Another kinship pattern is that

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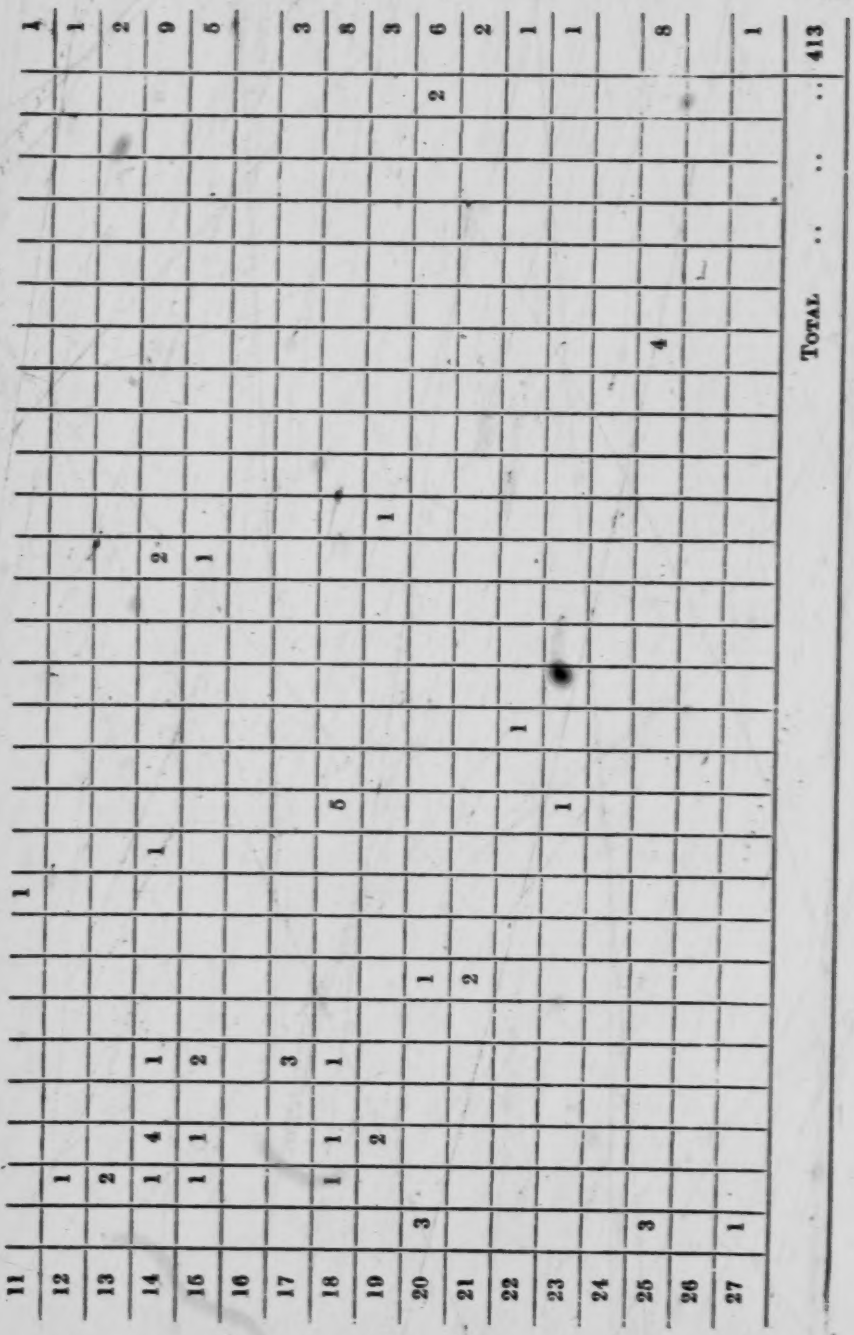
APPENDIX II

INTERMARRIAGES BETWEEN CLANS

Clans of the Eagle moiety are designated by numbers and clans of the Hawk moiety by letters. The number of marriages between members of each clan and members of different clans of the opposite moiety is recorded. A total of 413 marriages was studied.

Eagle Clans	Hawk Clans																												
	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*j*	*k*	*l*	*m*	*n*	*o*	*p*	*q*	*r*	*s*	*t*	*u*	*v*	*w*	*x*	*y*	*z*	*aa*	*bb*	*Total*
1	3	5	7	2	5	1	6	1		1	5		1				3												40
2	14	31	12	1	1	1	2			3	16			1				2				7					2	2	95
3	1	7	1		2	1					1				1		1	1											16
4	1	20	17		1				1	11	6		2		2		1	1							1				64
5	9	22	7				1	1		1	6				1		1								1				50
6	5	10	10		5	2				2	3	2	1	1	1		1					2					1		46
7	12	1	2								1		1	1								15	1	1	5	1	1		42
8		1																											1
9		1																											1
10		2			1						1				3														7

INTERMARRIAGES BETWEEN CLANS



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Clan (*evit bung* or *pambong*).	Totem (*mani* or *manu*).	
G—Monga Maf	Mangaf (Keet)	Kafkaf
H—Monga Titian	Tutut (Swamp Pheasant) ..	Madina
I—	Kikiak (blue bird fisheater)	
J—Mongo Ke	Kanai (Gui—said to come from New Hanover)	
K—Mogo Momoi-ia	Eara (Blue Parrot)	Lugagun
Naga	Wai-ia	
Wai-ia	.. ..	Lamekot
Nega	A Kat	Livitua
L—Mogang Kala	(Probably same as E)	
M—Moni Tak	A Wut (Small blue bird)	
N—	Tiu (Small bush bird, Fish-eater)	
O—Mogo Tivunalua ..	Maiau (Cocoanut-eating crab)	
P—Moga Mokon	Kai-au (Bush fowl)	

The clan name is known as *evit bung* sometimes *pambong*; the totem name is *mani* or *manu;* while the social sub-divisions are known as *masolei, maselei* or *misili*. The clan and totem names vary slightly throughout the district according to dialectical changes, e.g. *harok* Fatmilak becomes *iok* at Fongalava, while *wai-ia* Lugagun becomes *kake* at Livitua; some of these variations appear in my notes, but there are doubtless others that I have not recorded.

582 616

The clans are exogamous. Between Limalaua and Karu inclusive the clansmen of the Eagle marry the clanswomen of the Hawk, while the clanswomen of the Eagle marry the clansmen of the Hawk. In Karu, however, where it is difficult to distinguish the clans and sub-divisions, owing perhaps to culture contact with mutiple clan people of the Namatanai district, which has confused the local grouping and broken the dual organization, I found instances of marriage between people of the same main social group. It was said that the people are divided into two main groups Malom with the Eagle as totem and Aragu with the Hawk as totem. Groups said to be sub-groups of Malom are Liongo, Hobon, Saut, Karu, Kogo, Kunimi and Kubiomara; groups said to be sub-groups of Aragu are Umalik, Hono, Lodogon, Kubu, Kuton and Nalagos. I was informed that members of the same sub-group could not intermarry, but I found on examining the marriages of the people now living that this expressed rule has been broken several times. The breaches are as follow: In the Aragu group Umalik has married Hono and Kuton, Lodogon has married Kubu, and in the Malom group Liongo has married Hobon, Hobon has married Karu, Saut has married Karu. I found no marriages, however, between a man and woman of the same sub-group. The language spoken at Karu and Logon is said to extend to Kanavit in the Namatanai district.

582 614

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582 614 616 Within the multiple groupings between Fatmilak and Kavieng marriage within the clan is forbidden, and in some places, I was informed, the multiple clans are definitely divided into two inter-marrying divisions. Even the natives themselves told me on more than one occasion that "such and such" a clan was "brother" to "such and such" a clan. My notes of the marriages that have actually taken place, however, do not confirm this division into two sets of inter-marrying clans. Until further evidence is available, therefore, I am inclined to think that the so-called brotherhood of clans may be due to a genealogical relationship between the members of certain clans which debars marriage between them. In Lugagun district, for instance, I was told that the multiple clans are divided into the following inter-marrying divisions: 1.—F, D, C, A, E, H; 2.—G, B, K, J.

582 614 Between Lugagun and Lamekot, however, which is the district referred to, I found in my table of marriages between people recorded on the census the following breaches of this supposed rule:—

B married G.
D married A, F, E, C, H.
C married D, F, H, E, A.
A married D, F, C, H.
G married B.
E married C, F, H, D, A.
F married D, E, A, C.
H married D, C, F, E, A.

In Fatmilak F and H and B and J were said to be "brother" groups, that is to say, F could not marry F and B could not marry J. In my census of that village neither of the groups H, J is named at at all. On the completion of the census I was informed that names entered under F (Monga Tiri-in) comprised many people of H, and the names under B comprised J as well. (Kanai is said to be an introduction from New Hanover, and in other villages its group name is known as Mogo Ke.) In Madina G and B are said to be "strong brothers," and in my census of that village no marriage between the two groups has been recorded.

The suggested inter-marrying divisions of the clans, however, is a matter of great importance and should be investigated intensively. I have mentioned it to Dr. Hortense Powdermaker, who is at present working among the dual people at Lassu, and possibly she may be able to go into the matter before she leaves the district.

In general, throughout the Kavieng-Fatmilak district, clan exogamy is observed, but occasionally, especially as one approaches Kavieng, marriages within the same social group are observed. In Kavieng

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itself several instances were recorded, one even between people of the same subdivision. The people say that such marriages are "bad". They appear to have been contracted in the past as well, and, as far as I could learn, the persons so united do not appear to suffer any social disability on that account.

Marriage is regulated by the clan system, that is to say, a man must marry out of his own clan. It is regulated still further by kinship. In most of the villages, marriage with the father's sister's daughter or the mother's brother's daughter is strictly prohibited, and in some places this prohibition is extended even to the daughters of classificatory father's sisters and mother's brothers, and almost everywhere men may marry the widow of a mother's brother, the daughters of classificatory cross-cousins, the brother's widow and the wife's sister. In one or two places, however, marriage with the daughters of the real cross-cousins was said to be permitted, although such marriages rarely took place.

I was able to investigate pedigrees in a few villages. The kinship terms used by the persons recorded in these pedigrees, together with fragmentary notes on the marriages that had taken place or were said to be permissible, are given hereunder. Owing to lack of time, however, these particulars are not complete, and I am submitting them merely for purposes of record, as they might be of use to future investigators with more time to spend in the investigation of social organization.

The first pedigree was taken at Luburua. The terms of relationship used by the various persons recorded are as follow:—

Tamang.—Father.
Nang.—Mother.
Natuk.—Son.
Imuna.—Father's sister; father's sister's husband; husband of father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's wife.
Imuna.—Sister's daughter's husband; wife's mother's brother; wife's mother.
Ifina.—Father's sister's son; mother's brother's son; sister's husband; wife's father.
Kaisuna.—Father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's son (woman speaking); father's sister's daughter's son; mother's brother's daughter.
Mogetena.—Mother's brother's sister's son.
Inena.—Husband's father; husband's mother.
Tinafin.—Sister.
Ifandevin.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.
Palun.—Sister (woman speaking); brother.
Tinamean.—Sister; brother (woman speaking).

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582 In this village it was said that the cross-cousin marriage is permitted, and one man recorded in the pedigree definitely told me that, if he liked, he could marry a woman shown in the pedigree as the daughter of his mother's brother. Marriage with the mother's brother's daughter's daughter is also permitted according to my informants, but they stated that marriage with the mother's brother's widow is prohibited. Unfortunately, I was only able to record one pedigree in this village.

601 In Lakurumau one pedigree was taken, and the terms of relationship used are as follow:—

Tamang.—Father; father's brother.
Nang.—Mother; father's brother's wife.
Aliksugu.—Son: son of father's brother's son; brother's son.
Kogok.—Father's sister; brother's son (woman speaking); wife's mother.
Mogorugu.—Father's sister's husband; wife's brother's son; father's brother's daughter's daughter; sister's son; son of mother's brother son; mother's brother.
Fagu.—Father's sister's son; husband of father's brother's daughter; sister's husband; brother's wife (woman speaking) and husband's sister; mother's brother's son.
Dinafingu.—Father's brother's daughter; father's brother's son (woman speaking); sister.
Diagu.—Father's brother's son; brother; sister (woman speaking).
Kaiasgu.—Wife of father's brother's son; brother's wife; father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's daughter.
Aiamung.—Wife's father; father's sister's daughter.
Aratesegu.—Wife; husband; daughter of mother's brother's daughter.
Nenagu.—Husband's father; husband's mother.

It was stated here that the names of the following relations may not be spoken:—Sister, wife's mother, sister's husband, wife's brother, wife's sister. The cross-cousin marriage is definitely prohibited.

One pedigree was recorded in Madina, and the following relationship terms were used by the persons investigated:—

Mago or *Mama.*—Father; father's brother.
Naga or *Nang.*—Mother.
Ngalik.—Son.
Fagu.—Father's sister's son; husband of father's brother's daughter; son of wife's father's brother; mother's brother's son; wife's brother; sister's husband.

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[60] *Papa Ruang.*—Son of husband's mother's brother; husband's sister's husband; elder brother (woman speaking).

Kogule.—Father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's daughter; wife's mother.

Muge.—Mother's brother's son (woman speaking); father's sister's son (woman speaking); son of father's sister's daughter; son of wife's mother's father's sister; husband of sister's daughter; daughter's husband (woman speaking); wife's brother; sister's husband's son and the mother's father's sister.

Namogo.—Husband of mother's brother's daughter; son of wife's father's sister; husband of father's sister's daughter; son of wife's mother's brother.

Magambutung.—Wife; daughter of father's sister's daughter; daughter of mother's brother's daughter.

Leruang.—Husband; son of mother's mother's brother; son of mother's father's sister.

Anmula Ruang.—Wife's father; daughter's husband; husband of brother's daughter.

Mela Ruang.—Son of mother's brother's daughter; son of the wife's mother's father's sister; son of the mother's mother's brother; sister's husband; wife's brother.

Luap Tuang.—Wife's sister's husband.

Papa (sometimes *Papa Ruang*).—Brother; sister (woman speaking); brother's wife's sister (woman speaking).

Pava.—Brother's wife; husband's brother; wife's sister; sister's husband (woman speaking).

Nemula.—Husband's sister; brother's wife (woman speaking).

Aia.—Father's father; father's mother; son's son; mother's father; mother's mother; wife of brother's son; wife of sister's son; husband's mother; son's wife; husband's father; husband's father's brother.

In one case where a man has married the widow of his younger brother, and now looks after her two children, the younger brother is now referred to by his children as Aia, and their adopted father as Mamo.

Aia Rang, a term sometimes used towards the sons of the sister's sons and daughters.

Aia Rung, a term sometimes used towards the daughters of sister's sons and daughters.

[595] Polygynous unions with two sisters are permissible. Marriage
582 between cross-cousins, however, is definitely barred. The natives say they would rather hang themselves than break this rule. It is permissible to marry the daughter of the mother's brother's daughter or

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the father's sister's daughter, although this does not often take place. Marriages with the daughters of classificatory cross-cousins, however, frequently occur. In one pedigree a man is married to the sister of his mother's brother's wife; this woman calls her husband's mother's brother Pava instead of Eia or Aia, which would be the usual term. Formerly polyandrous unions took place in this village, but have been abandoned since the missions became established. 582

The next pedigree was taken at Letatan. The terms of relationship used are as follow:— 601

Mamo.—Father; father's brother.

Nango.—Mother.

Peruang.—Son; brother's son; wife's sister's son.

Perung.—Daughter; brother's daughter; wife's sister's daughter.

Nambura.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son; father's sister; sister's son's wife; husband's mother's brother.

Tata.—Mother's brother; son of husband's father's sister; son of wife's mother's father's sister; husband's sister's husband.

Talau.—Sister's son; wife of mother's brother's son; husband of mother's brother's daughter; wife's brother's wife.

Inot.—Mother's brother's son; father's sister's son.

Kogup.—Father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's daughter; father's sister's son (woman speaking); mother's brother's son (woman speaking).

Namugu.—Husband of mother's brother's daughter.

Mogambutang.—Wife, daughter of father's sister's daughter.

Lai Ruang.—Husband.

Mela Ruang.—Wife's brother; sister's husband; husband of wife's sister; son of father's sister's daughter.

Anamuli Rang.—Wife's father.

Kogili Rung.—Wife's mother.

Kogili Rang.—Daughter's husband (woman speaking).

Mega Tuang.—Wife; sister's husband.

Papa.—Brother; sister (woman speaking).

Pava Rung.—Brother's wife; wife's sister; sister's husband (woman speaking).

Nemula.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.

Mugi Rang.—Sister's daughter's husband.

Eia.—Father's father; father's mother; mother's father; mother's mother; son's son; wife's brother's son; wife's brother's daughter; daughter of mother's brother's son; son of mother's brother's son.

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

601 The term Rang is affixed to designate a male, and Rung to designate a female.

582 601 Letatan is a bush village. The cross-cousin marriage is strongly prohibited, but marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother's daughter, the wife's sister and the brother's widow is permissible. The [551] names of the wife's mother, wife's brother, father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter were avoided by the persons recorded in the pedigree.

601 The next pedigrees (2) were taken at Konnos, a village of bush people. The following terms of relationship were used:—

Tamang.—Father; father's brother.

Nanga.—Mother; father's brother's wife; wife of mother's brother's son.

Nungu Sigik.—Son.

Nungu Inek.—Daughter.

Inasong.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son; wife of sister's son; husband's mother's brother.

Nambangit.—Mother's brother; father's sister's husband.

Noiang.—Sister's son; sister's daughter.

Kogup.—Mother's brother's son; father's sister's son.

Tang.—Son of mother's brother's son; brother; wife's sister; brother's wife; sister (woman speaking).

Ninugu.—Daughter of mother's brother's son; sister; brother (woman speaking).

Tagik.—Sister's husband; wife's brother.

Nungu Rumbu.—Wife.

Nunguru Masik.—Husband; sister's daughter's husband; daughter of the husband's sister's daughter.

Namugu.—Wife's father; daughter's husband; brother's daughter's husband; mother's brother's daughter's husband; wife's father's brother; wife's father's sister's son; husband of father's sister's daughter; son of wife's mother's brother.

Nungu Waru(e), Nungu Goko(y), or Evaru.—Wife's mother; daughter's husband (woman speaking); mother's brother's daughter; mother's brother's son; (woman speaking) father's sister's daughter; father's sister's son (woman speaking).

Tambugu.—Father's father; father's mother; mother's father; mother's mother; son's son; brother's daughter's son; son of father's sister's son; daughter of father's sister's son; daughter of mother's mother's brother's daughter.

Nangena.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

Nimugu.—Father's sister; daughter of mother's brother's daughter. 601

Nenang.—Son's wife; husband's mother; husband's father.

Navàru.—Mother's brother's son (woman speaking).

Tangamuia.—Sister's daughter's daughter; mother's mother's brother.

In the pedigree it was noticed that the name of the mother's [551] brother's wife was avoided and also the wife's mother. Marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is definitely prohibited, but 582 marriage with the wife's sister or the brother's widow is allowed. There are probably other regulations in regard to marriage that I have not recorded. Before the mission became established, definite sex relations were permitted between the men and women of small groups, 837 who were described as being "friends" of one another.

The next pedigree was recorded at Kenobin, a few miles below 601 Konnos. These also are village people. The terms of relationship used are as follow:—

Tamang.—Father; father's brother; mother's sister's husband.

Nanga.—Mother; mother's sister; father's brother's wife.

Ungu Zigik.—Son; sister's daughter's husband; the husband of the husband's father's brother's daughter.

Guinek.—Daughter; the daughter of the husband's father's sister's daughter.

Inazong.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son; sister's son's wife; husband's mother's brother.

Tata or Nambangit.—Mother's brother; mother's father's brother's son (woman speaking).

Noiang.—Sister's son; sister's daughter; son of father's sister's son; daughter of father's brother's daughter; son of father's brother's daughter.

Pawugu.—Father's sister's son.

Guwaru.—Father's sister's daughter; wife's mother; daughter's husband (woman speaking).

Namugu.—Husband of father's sister's daughter; wife's father; daughter's husband.

Ninugu.—Wife of father's sister's son; sister; husband's sister's husband; sister's daughter's daughter.

Amuia.—Mother's mother's brother (woman speaking).

Tagik or Gurumasik.—Sister's husband; wife's brother.

Gurumasik.—Husband; husband of father's brother's daughter.

Guru Rumbu.—Wife.

Tang.—Father's brother's son; father's brother's son's wife.

Nangenz.—Husband's sister; brother's wife (woman speaking).

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

551 During the taking of this pedigree the sister's name and her presence
593 were strongly avoided. Other terms avoided were the father's sister's daughter, father's sister's son's wife, the mother's brother's wife, the wife's mother, and a woman avoids her brother and his name; the wife's brother and the wife's father do not appear to be avoided.

837 In this village it was said that small groups of men and women
572 were friendly to one another even to the extent of exchanging wives. This is now dying out with the coming of mission influence. The last group of the kind consisted of the following men and their wives:—Langiaun (male), Sagarin (female); Lile (male), Lubun (female); Marangas (male), Kesiga (female); Eangulin (male), Narong (female). Each man had access to each woman, and the groups lived happily together. Marangas then went to work on the gold-fields leaving Kesiga with his group friend Eangulin. After a short time, Eangulin found he liked Kesiga better than his wife, Narong, so he gave Narong to the Luluai of the village, Lega—who did not belong to the group at all—and stole Kesiga. Narong afterwards died. When Marangas returned from the gold-fields, and found that Eangulin had stolen Kesiga and did not want to give her up, he was very angry, and withdrew from the group altogether, marrying another woman.
582 The group then broke up. It was stated in the village that marriage with the mother's brother's widow is allowed, but that marriage with the daughter of the father's sister's daughter is prohibited. There was one instance of marriage with the deceased wife's sister. I omitted an inquiry as to marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother's daughter.

601 The next pedigree was taken at Pinigindu, and the following relationship terms were recorded:—

Tamak.—Father; father's brother; mother's sister's husband.

Nanga.—Mother; father's brother's wife; mother's sister.

Emanda Karak.—Son.

Nimugu.—Father's sister; brother's son (woman speaking); father's sister's daughter's daughter.

Nak.—Father's sister's husband; wife's brother's son; husband of father's sister's daughter's daughter.

Tata.—Mother's brother.

Noiak.—Sister's son; sister's daughter.

Nasong.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son.

Koko.—Father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's son (woman speaking); daughter of father's sister's daughter's daughter.

Masikogup.—Father's sister's daughter's husband; wife's mother's brother's son.

Wepaguna or *Kogup.*—Mother's brother's son.

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

Pavugu.—Father's sister's son; father's sister's daughter (woman speaking). 601

Wenen Aulit.—Mother's brother's son's wife; husband's father's sister's son.

Metak.—Mother's brother's son's son; father's father's sister's son; mother's brother's son's son's wife; brother; brother's wife; husband's brother.

Weton.—Mother's sister's son; sister (woman speaking).

Ramasik.—Mother's sister's daughter's husband; wife's brother; sister's husband.

Inugu.—Mother's sister's daughter; sister; brother (woman speaking).

Nenak.—Wife of mother's sister's son's son.

Namugu.—Wife's father; daughter's husband.

Rulom.—Wife's mother; daughter's husband (woman speaking).

Nisok.—Wife.

Randirak.—Husband.

Nangini.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.

Paguna.—Mother's brother's daughter (woman speaking).

Tumbugu.—Father's father; father's mother; mother's mother; mother's father; son's son.

A woman, for whom the term Koko was used, married the brother of the speaker and then became Metak to him, the term used for brother. Marriage with the cross-cousins and their daughters is strictly prohibited, but marriage with classificatory cross-cousins and their daughters is allowed, and also marriage with the mother's brother's widow. [582]

The next pedigree was taken at Karu, but, as it was difficult to get information, the material is scanty. The terms used are as follow:—

Magu.—Mother.

Barukanu.—Son.

Orong Kanu.—Mother's brother; mother's brother's daughter's husband.

Subun Tanu.—Sister's son; wife's father's sister's son.

Lenasong.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son.

Lowuk.—Mother's brother's son; father's sister's son; mother's brother's daughter's son; mother's father's sister's son.

Koko.—Mother's brother's daughter; father's sister's son (woman speaking).

Imuk.—Wife's father; daughter's husband; son's wife; husband's father.

Wowup.—Wife's mother; daughter's husband (woman speaking).

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601 *Rok.*—Brother; sister (woman speaking).
Matok.—Brother's wife; husband's brother.
Sagok.—Sister; brother (woman speaking).
Ramisik.—Wife's brother; sister's husband.
Suk or *Oitanu.*—Wife.
Suk.—Husband.
Enak.—Husband's mother; son's wife (woman speaking).
Egik.—Brother's wife (woman speaking); husband's sister.

582 In this pedigree one man is married to two sisters who are both living. The cross-cousin marriage is said to be definitely barred. A man is permitted to marry his mother's brother's widow, his brother's widow, his wife's sister, or the daughter of his mother's brother's daughter. In this village there are several instances of marriage between people of the same clan.

586 587 In almost every village on the East coast of New Ireland there are numerous men and women who have been divorced and re-married several times. The priests of the Roman Catholic Mission hold that the facility with which these divorces and re-marriages take place reacts on the issue rate of the community.

614 162 The clan distribution of the population between Kavieng and Karu, is shown in the following tables of adults and children of both sexes. (Appendix 2.)

614 As I have already stated, each clan is divided into sub-groupings associated in some way with the ghosts of the dead. Every person, therefore, has his clan *evit-bung* or *pambang* (north of Fatmilak), *butamit* (south of Fatmilak), his totem, *mani*, and his sub-division, *masolei*, *masele* (north of Fatmilak), *morali* or *misili* (south of Fatmilak). The sub-divisions bear the names of pieces of land, caves, capes, mountains, rocks, prominent points on the sea-shore, reefs, rivers, waterfalls, or other natural phenomena, characteristic of the spot from which the sub-division is said to have originated, and in addition they bear the names of and are associated with mythical pigs, snakes, sharks, or other animals connected with the site that bears the group name. A large number of the *masolei* sites consist of fertile land, which is planted from time to time by the members of the *masolei* sub-division or by people of other sub-divisions permitted to do so. Quite a number [778] of the sub-division locations, however, are barren, and without value. Such places are regarded simply as sacred spots to which the members of the sub-divisions associated with them have rights against others.

Between Kavieng and Fatmilak there are many villages in which the clans have merely one or two sub-divisions apparently of little importance. In Kavieng itself I found the same sub-divisional name occurring in more than one clan. In places like Lakuramau and

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census are compared whenever possible to the results of this genealogical study of a smaller unit of the same people, for the purpose of checking the accuracy of the latter study.

ETHNOLOGICAL FACTS

Before presenting the tables it is pertinent to give a few ethnological facts related to the statistics. This group of Melanesians are an agricultural, matrilineal and matrilocal people, with exogamous moieties subdivided into clans. There is no scarcity of land, which is communally owned, and getting sufficient food is not difficult, although it requires a certain amount of industry. The diet is limited, taro being the staple food. This is supplemented by fish, pigs, yams, bananas, pawpaws, coconuts, etc.

Sexual customs have an important bearing on the statistics. A girl is usually married directly after her first menstruation. A man's preferred mate is the mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or the father's sister's daughter's daughter, and he is thus of a generation above his wife. While the preferred marriage quite frequently does not take place, the husband is almost always older than his wife, usually a difference of about five to ten years. The girl has had no sexual intercourse, although she has indulged in sexual play, but the man, being some years past puberty, has had sexual experience previous to the time of his marriage. There are no unmarried women. There may be a couple of young widows in the community, but it is just a question of time before they remarry. Both husband and wife have extra-marital intercourse and there is no social stigma in having lovers or mistresses. Rather, it is the correct thing to do. The husband of the mother is always the sociological father of her children. Until very recently it was quite usual for a man to have two wives and this had been the case with most of the married men of my community. It was relatively rare for a woman to have two husbands, although it did and still does happen occasionally. Missions have taught a monogamous system of marriage, with partial success. Polygamy still exists, but not to the same degree or extent as it did a generation ago. White contact has scarcely affected extra-marital intercourse. Should the village be close to a mission center (mine was not) love affairs would simply be carried on more surreptitiously,